

Polity IV Country Report 2010: Tanzania

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;">Score:</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2009</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2010</td> <td style="width: 15%;">Change</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Polity:</td> <td>-1</td> <td>-1</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Democ:</td> <td>2</td> <td>2</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Autoc:</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Durable:</td> <td colspan="3">15</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tentative:</td> <td colspan="3">No</td> </tr> </table>	Score:	2009	2010	Change	Polity:	-1	-1	0	Democ:	2	2	0	Autoc:	3	3	0	Durable:	15			Tentative:	No			<p style="text-align: center;">Authority Trends, 1961-2010: Tanzania</p>
Score:	2009	2010	Change																						
Polity:	-1	-1	0																						
Democ:	2	2	0																						
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Durable:	15																								
Tentative:	No																								
SCODE	TAZ	CCODE	510	Date of Report	1 June 2011																				
Polity IV Component Variables																									
XRREG	XRCOMP	XROPEN	XCONST	PARREG	PARCOMP																				
2	2	4	3	3	2																				
Date of Most Recent Polity Transition (3 or more point change)																									
End Date			22 November 1995	Begin Date																					
				23 November 1995																					
Polity Fragmentation: No																									
Constitution	1977/1984																								
Executive(s)	President Jakaya Kikwete (CCM); directly elected, 14 December 2005, reelected 31 October 2010, 61.2%																								
Legislature	Unicameral: National Assembly (343 seats; 239 directly elected, 104 seats reserved for women elected by their political parties on the basis of proportional representation among the political parties represented in the National Assembly, 5 members indirectly elected by the Zanzibar House of Representatives, up to 10 members may be appointed by the President, and 1 seat is reserved for the Attorney-General; most recent elections, 31 October 2010) Revolutionary State Party (CCM): 259 Party for Unity and Progress (Chadema): 46 Civic United Front (CUF): 31 Other parties: 14																								
Judiciary	Court of Appeal																								

Narrative Description:¹

Executive Recruitment: Transitional or Restricted Elections (7)

In 1992 Tanzania amended its constitution and became a multiparty state. After thirty-three years of one-party rule under the Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party (CCM), competitive presidential elections were held in 1995. In elections that were deemed to be largely free by international observers, Benjamin Mkapa became

¹ The research described in this report was sponsored by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF). The PITF is funded by the Central Intelligence Agency. The views expressed herein are the authors' alone and do not represent the views of the US Government.

the first democratically elected president of Tanzania. However, the CCM, with its huge advantages in membership and access to campaign resources, did not face a significant challenge by opposition forces. Thus, even with the advent of democratic elections in Tanzania, the CCM has been able to maintain its hegemonic position in the country. This hegemony was reaffirmed with the presidential elections of October 2000 in which President Mkapa was easily reelected with over seventy percent of the popular vote. Given that the liberalization of Tanzanian politics is being pursued from the “top-down,” through the cautious leadership of the CCM rather than through grassroots mobilization and agitation of opposition forces, national elections continue to be biased in favor of CCM candidates.

Tanzania held its most recent general election on 14 December 2005, in which Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete of the CCM was elected president with over eighty percent of the vote. The CCM continued to dominate the legislature after these elections, securing 264 of 324 seats. Perhaps most significant is the peaceful transition of power by President Mkapa, who stepped down in accordance with the constitution. Incumbent President Jakaya Kikwete was returned to office following his electoral victory in the 31 October 2010 polls. Kikwete, leader of the CCM, won over 62% of the vote in elections that were deemed to be largely free and fair.

Executive Constraints: Slight to Moderate Limitations (3)

Despite the introduction of multiparty competition in Tanzania in 1992, the CCM retains its hegemonic hold over the institutions of governance in this east African state. While no longer a *de jure* one-party state, nevertheless, until the opposition is able to achieve a significant presence in the legislature – which it has yet to do – it will continue to function as a *de facto* one. Opposition views are actively voiced in the National Assembly but these voices have been weak and unorganized. As a result, the opposition has been unable to effectively challenge the dominance of the CCM or check the power of the executive. Despite the weakness of the legislative branch in Tanzania, the judiciary has shown signs of increasing autonomy from the CCM in recent years.

Political Participation: Authoritarian-Guided Liberalization (3)

Like many other states in Africa in the post-cold war era, the party system in Tanzania is dominated by a strong ruling party and a smattering of small parties that do not constitute a real threat to its hegemony. The Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party (CCM), which has dominated Tanzanian politics since independence in 1961, owes much of its success to the neo-patrimonial order that it has effectively nurtured over nearly a half-century of continuous rule. Despite the establishment of multiparty politics in 1992, the CCM’s access to, and distribution of, state patronage has ensured the perpetuation of its rule in the new “democratic” order. While significant progress has been made in the past decade in undoing the CCM’s self-help (*ujamaa*) form of socialism (first established in 1967 under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere), the path of political liberalization in this country has been a long and crooked one. With the exception of the electoral contests in Zanzibar (a semi-autonomous island in the Indian Ocean which merged with the mainland state of Tanganyika in 1964 to form the Republic of Tanzania), international observers deemed the national elections of 1995, 2000 and 2005 to be procedurally free and institutionally competitive. While over thirteen opposition parties actively participated in these elections, nevertheless, the competitive nature of these contests were undermined by the government’s manipulation of the media and its widespread use of state largesse to buy political loyalty. Moreover, the persistence of a highly fractionalized and ineffective political opposition made the outcome of these elections a foregone conclusion.

While recent national elections have been problematic in many respects, they seem to indicate a continuing commitment of the CCM to the process of political liberalization and a further devolution of institutional power. However, while the CCM appears willing to tolerate the existence of a multiparty political system, it continues to actively bias the playing field against its political challengers. While the CCM does not pursue a systematic policy of intimidating political opponents on the mainland (where its hegemony is not in question), the same is not true in Zanzibar (where its hegemony is in serious question). Violence and fraud have been actively used in Zanzibar to undermine the challenge of the Civic United Front (CUF) since the mid-1990s. Most recently, political violence erupted in the semi-autonomous islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in January 2001 when the CUF organized demonstrations demanding a re-run of the fraudulent local elections of October 2000 in which (like the controversial elections of 1995) victory was claimed by the CCM. At least twenty-two people were killed in these protests. After a protracted negotiation process in 2001, some sense of political stability has returned to the island provinces. Under an agreement signed between the CCM and CUF in early 2002, the government has pursued a policy of

electoral reform in Zanzibar that will, in the long term, make the election process more transparent and, hopefully, more peaceful. Although this agreement, along with the recent election of Abeid Karume (a CCM moderate from the mainland and son of the country's first president) as President of Zanzibar, are promising signs, the stability of politics in Zanzibar remains tenuous. Moreover, the violent political activity in Zanzibar is a continual reminder of the contentious nature of political competition in Tanzania and the weakness of democratic institutions and norms. Elections in Zanzibar in early 2005 were invalidated and then re-run on 14 December 2005, with the CCM candidate receiving fifty-three percent of the vote.

However, political divisions in Tanzania, unlike most other countries in Africa, are not based on ethnicity with the exception of the cultural division between the "African" mainland and the "Muslim" Zanzibar archipelago. While over 120 ethnic groups reside in Tanzania, none of them is demographically or politically dominant and all share a common African lingua franca: Kiswahili. Contention in Tanzania has more to do with shifting patronage groups rather than with permanent ethnic or ideological divisions. While these groups have traditionally been contained within the ruling CCM, in recent years the party has been weakened by defections. Political struggles increasingly (although not exclusively) take place between those patronage factions associated with the CCM and those patronage factions that have defected from the CCM and now control the political opposition in Tanzania, largely the Civic United Front (CUF). According to some regional experts, there is evidence that the old bureaucratic-centralist pattern of politics is increasingly being replaced by one based on clientelist relations.

Despite the historical limits on the politicization of ethnicity in Tanzania, in recent years the political arena has become increasingly polarized into regional blocks. In addition to an Islamic block from the coastal region and a regional block from the Lake Zone, the major division that has emerged has been between "northern" and "southern" MPs. While hailing from the south of the country, nevertheless, President Mkapa has provided most top government jobs to northerners. This decision led to a significant loss of southern support for his government. The new president Jakaya Kikwete is a devout Muslim from the coastal Bagamoyo District north of Dar es Salaam; he is regarded as a career politician and socialist and was the country's longest serving foreign minister. He had unsuccessfully challenged Mkapa for the CCM nomination for the 1995 presidential election.

While international observers expressed some concern over both the count and delays in reporting during the October 2010 elections, they indicated that these irregularities were not significant enough to alter the final result. The CCM, which has been in the seat of national power since independence in 1961, won the presidency and dominated the legislative polls; it also had significant success in the elections in Zanzibar. The presidential elections in Tanzania's semi-autonomous Zanzibar archipelago resulted in a narrow victory for the CCM candidate, Ali Mohamed Shein. Under the terms of a new power-sharing deal enshrined in a constitutional amendment, the second-place finisher, Seif Sharif Hamad of the Civic United Front (CUF), became Shein's "first vice-president" (a "second vice-president" was drawn from the winning candidate's party). The power-sharing agreement, ratified by a public referendum in July 2010, was aimed at bringing to an end the political violence between the CCM and CUF that plagued both the 2000 and 2005 elections in Zanzibar. Both parties actively campaigned for a "yes" vote in the referendum.